Terrorism and Counterterrorism: America’s new ‘Cold War’

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Overview and Caveats

• **My Observations**

• Not advocating for or against any policies

• Noting the similarities between the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) and the Cold War

• The GWOT has reshaped our government, politics, law enforcement, and military

• Points of view are solely my own and do not represent those of the University of Kansas or unit within
Terrorism and Counterterrorism: America’s new ‘Cold War’

• Eleven years into the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) (really the War on Islamic Extremism)
• We are we in the GWOT and when it will will end?
• Overview of terrorism and counterterrorism before and after 9/11 and discuss how each has evolved.
• The characteristics of new terrorism and the nature of counterterrorism policy framing by elites has ensured that the GWOT is now an enduring ideological conflict much like the Cold War and will likely continue for decades.
What is Terrorism? First Considerations

- Political Violence/Terrorism at First Glance
  - Perpetrators always claim to champion noble causes and values.
  - Advocates always cite righteous goals to justify their behavior.
  - Perpetrators uniformly maintain that they are freedom fighters or champions of law and social order.
Understanding Political Violence

• Political Violence: *Mala Prohibita* or *Mala in Se*?

  » *Mala Prohibita*: Acts that are “crimes that are made illegal by legislation.”
    - Not inherently immoral, wicked, or evil.
    - Cases: Gambling, prostitution, and so forth.

  » *Mala in Se*: Acts “that are immoral or wrong in themselves.”
    - Cannot be justified in civilized society and have no acceptable qualities.
    - Cases: Murder, rape, and so forth.
Understanding Political Violence

• **The Just War Doctrine**

  » An ideal and moralistic philosophy.

  » *Jus in Bello*: Correct behavior while waging war.

  » *Jus ad Bellum*: Correct conditions for waging war in the first place.

  » Often used conceptually by extremists to justify violence.
Terrorism and ‘Just War’

- **Argument**: Terrorism is qualitatively different from violence committed by state forces during a war because most state forces will recognize general conventions of warfare, including 1) no civilian hostages, 2) abide by rules for POWs, 3) outlaw reprisals against civilians or POWs, 4) recognize neutral territory, states, and citizens, 5) uphold inviolability of diplomats, etc.

- **Asymmetric Warfare**: (types) similar to Terrorism
- **Guerrilla warfare**: large group of armed indiv. who operate as a military unit, attack military forces, and exercise some control over territory and a population.
- **Insurgents**: similar, but mostly engage in hit and run tactics, focus on propaganda.

- Blurred lines in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Pakistan
Defining Terrorism

- Were Theodore Kaczynski (the UNIBOMBER, 1970s, targeting corporate and academic leaders)
- and Amil Kanzi (the gunman who killed two CIA employees and wounded two others outside the agency’s Langley [Virginia] headquarters)
- Terrorists?
the FBI did not classify the acts committed by these individuals as incidents of terrorism

- When the series of deadly bombings perpetrated by the “UNABOMBER” began in the 1970s, the subject’s motivations were unclear. It was not known, for example, whether, the targets were chosen randomly or as part of some personal vendetta.

- Thus, the FBI investigated the case as a criminal, rather than as a terrorism, matter.

- Kanzi: The FBI investigation into the January 1993 shooting outside CIA headquarters did not support speculation that the attack was an act of terrorism. Amil Kanzi, the individual ultimately identified as the lone assailant in the shooting, was determined by the FBI to be acting on personal, rather than ideological, motivations. Since then we have learned that there may have been more to it (supported by groups in Pakistan)
Defining Terrorism

• What is Terrorism? **A. FBI Def:** “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives”

• **One general Violent acts intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, or influence the policy or conduct of a government to further political goals.** (Domestic vs. International)

• **Ruby:** elements of behavioral focus: subnational groups or clandestine agents, commit violence or threaten violence, directed at noncombatants, political motivation, intended to create fear.
Environmental radicals 9/4/09: Two radio towers in the Snohomish River Valley were toppled by intruders who used a piece of heavy equipment on the site. Left ELF banner; Terrorism???
Other Definitions of Terrorism

• B. U.S. State Department: definition of "terrorism" that appears in the 22 U.S.C. 2656f(d)(2), i.e., "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intend to influence an audience."

• Footnote: For purposes of this definition, the term "noncombatant" is interpreted to include, in addition to civilians, military personnel who at the time of the incident are unarmed or not on duty.....We also consider as acts of terrorism attacks on military installations or on armed military personnel when a state of military hostilities does not exist at the site, such as bombings against US bases in Europe, the Philippines, or elsewhere.
Defining Terrorism

C. Department of Homeland Security (DHS): “any activity that involves an act that: is dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; (B) appear to be intended— (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping (this is really their def for domestic terrorism)

U.S. Code Title 18, Chapter 113B, section 2331(1) provides a definition of international terrorism: [T]he term international terrorism means activities that— (A) involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State; (B) appear to be intended— (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and (C) occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum....
Defining Terrorism

• The **Department of Defense** Dictionary of Military Terms defines terrorism as:
  
  “The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally **political, religious, or ideological**.”
Defining Terrorism

- Some definitions focus on behavior or the performance

- **Operational definition**: A synthesis of war and theater, a dramatization of the most proscribed kind of violence—that which is deliberately perpetrated on civilian noncombatant victims—played before an audience in the hope of creating a mood of fear, for political purposes.
Hoffman Definition

- Thus, terrorism is ...the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change....It is designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of the attack. It is meant to instill fear within, and thereby intimidate, a wider “target audience” that might include a rival ethnic or religious group, an entire country, a national government or political party, or public opinion in general. It is designed to create power where there is none or to consolidate power where there is very little. Through the publicity generated by their violence, the actors seek to obtain the leverage, influence, and power they otherwise lack to effect political change on either a local or international scale.
Extremism as Precursor to Terrorism

- Political Environment with Government as a central focus
- Political Movements/Ideologies are basis; old or new; reconstructed or expanded
- Extremist individuals and groups arise out of broader social movements or shared ideology
Language and Defining Terrorism

• When I label someone an extremist what is my goal?
• When I label someone a terrorist what is my goal?
• Terrorism is political speech and so is labeling something as extremist or terrorist
• Acts of Evil; Evil versus good.
Rhetoric of Elites

- George W Bush delivers his first public speech after 9/11 attack
  - [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QP1K84iRZPo&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QP1K84iRZPo&feature=related)

- President Bush 9/11 speech
Questions?????
Terrorism and Counterterrorism Before 9/11

• Prior to the attacks of 9/11 the threat to the American homeland was primarily from domestic extremists and terrorists.

• International terrorists largely targeted U.S. interests aboard.

• Some international terrorists did operate in the U.S., but targeted foreign nationals (Puerto Rican Nationalist groups)
Overview: Pattern in U.S.

- Groups
- Movements
- Trends in incidents
- Trends in Attacks
- Trends in Causalities
Hewitt study: 1954 to 2000

• **Terror groups in the US**
  
  » 1. Median membership: 10
  
  » 2. Avg. group is active less than 2 years and carries out 7 attacks
  
  » 3. A lot of variation around these averages (Hewitt counts 27 groups, 643 attacks, with only 1405 members)
Recent Movements and Groups in the U.S.

Anti-Communists: Minutemen, Secret Army Organ.: 1960s
Black Nationalism: BPP, Nation of Islam. 1960s and early 70s: ignored nationally and locally, but political context of problems important
Revolutionary Leftist: Weather Underground. 1960s to 80s: response to war, repression
Puerto Rican Separatists: 1970s and 80s
Jewish Defense League: 1970s and 80s
Sheriff’s Posse Comitatus: 1970 and 80s
Anti-Abortion: 1970s to present
Militias and Patriots: 1990s
Islamic Fundamentalist: 1990s to present
Environment and Animal Rights: ALF & ELF. 1990s to present
Figure 1. Trends in terrorist incidents, 1970–2004 for (a) the U.S., and (b) the rest of the world (excluding the U.S.).
Figure 2. Geographical distribution of terrorist incidents by location.
Casualties of TERRORISM
1980-2005

WOUNDED 14,038*
Killed 3,178
Total 17,216*

* The FBI uses 12,017 as an estimate for the number of those injured as a result of the September 11 attack; the exact number is unknown. Seventeen persons were infected by and recovered from exposure to the anthrax mailings during September-November 2001.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target type</th>
<th>Percentage of incidents in each decade</th>
<th>Total number of incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>38.38</td>
<td>21.23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abortion related</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>31.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>13.82</td>
<td>7.53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diplomatic</td>
<td>9.56</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Citizen</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>4.45</td>
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<td>Police</td>
<td>8.24</td>
<td>3.08</td>
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<td>Military</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational Institution</td>
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<td>2.74</td>
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<td>Utilities</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>1.37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religious figures/institutions</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airports/airlines</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists &amp; media</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-government organizations</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.34</td>
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<td>Transportation</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>680</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TERRORISM by Event
1980-2005

- BOMBING: 209
- ARSON: 43
- MALICIOUS DESTRUCTION: 20
- SHOOTING: 16
- HOSTILE TAKEOVER: 10
- ROBBERY: 8
- ASSAULT: 4
- HIJACKING: 2
- KIDNAPPING: 2
- ROCKET: 2
- ASSASSINATION: 1
- WMD: 1

TOTAL: 318
### Table 4. Decadal trends in attack type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attack type</th>
<th>Percentage of incidents in each decade</th>
<th>Total number of incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombing</td>
<td>86.47</td>
<td>64.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facility attack</td>
<td>6.03</td>
<td>26.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBRN attack</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assassination</td>
<td>6.62</td>
<td>5.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabotage</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijacking</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.68</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kidnapping</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.34</td>
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<tr>
<td>Armed intrusion</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mass disruption</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>680</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Old vs. New Terrorism

**Old Terrorism**
- Identifiable movements and organizations (cell or not cell structured)
- Conventional weapons
- Explicit grievances
- Relatively surgical selection of targets

**New Terrorism (Netwar)**
- Loose, cell network, flat
- Effort to acquire high-intensity weapons and WMD (mass causalities)
- Politically vague, religious, or mystical motivations (can’t solve)
- ‘Asymmetrical methods with mass causalities
- Professionalized message: use of Internet and media; recording actions
Government Response: Counterterrorism

V. Dealing with Terrorists: At minimum the primary role of government is to protect citizens, maintain civil order

A. Traditional law enforcement
   1. Issues: tends to be reactive

B. Security/Structural: hardening targets

C. Policy: domestic and foreign

D. Use of Military Force/Other Force
   1. Issues

E. Civil society: encouraging discourse
Responses to terrorism counterterrorism policies are classified in one of the two models:

- the “criminal justice/law enforcement,” and the “war” model. In the “criminal justice” model, police intelligence analysis is accorded with the primary responsibility to struggle with terrorism under the strict observance of the rule of law,
- whereas in the “war model,” the military is afforded all means to quash terrorist actions.

Some counterterrorism measures, such as counterterrorism intelligence that is commonly used to disrupt terrorist activities, fall into the “grey area” between the “criminal justice” and the “war” ends of the counterterrorism policy spectrum. A hybrid “expanded criminal justice model” might represent the overlaps of the two models. CIA and targeted killing/Covert OPS
Summary and Examples: Like the CW?

- Law and Enforcement vs. Military model
  - criminal versus state threat; what if no state, prevention vs reactive; domino theory
- 1. pre-9/11, Clinton starting to shift
- 2. Bush and 9/11
- 3. Obama and the new model: Use of force, covert operations
Counterterrorism

Government Response to International Terrorism
A. Pre-9/11 (typically not highly focused on U.S.)
   1. 1970s and 1980s
      a. Plane Hijacking
      b. Reagan: Development of counterterrorism arms in CIA, NSA, FBI, State Department, Military Branches
         - Local Terrorism Task Forces (NYC first)
         - Training for Special Forces, Delta Force (use of extraordinary rendition)
         - FBI and CIA constrained
         - State Department: information
   2. Bush 41 and Clinton
      a. Rising concern: esp. Religious Terrorism
      b. Some policy change
      c. Clinton’s Covert War (Al Qaeda)
Evolution of Counterterrorism Policy (CTP)

- 1972-73 State Department Counterterrorism Office established; mini-bureau responsible for much of the CTP coordination
- Variety of interagency groups have operated at the assistant secretary level. Currently this is the Counterterrorism Security Group (CSG); officials from State, DD, FBI, DHS. Establish working groups for special topics
- Based on presidential decision directives State has been the lead agency for coordinating U.S. counterterrorism policy oversees. Domestically this was Justice Dept. until 2003 when DHS took over
4 Key CTP Principles since 1980s: Lead by State Dept.

1. Make no concessions to terrorists and strike no deals.
2. Bring terrorists to justice for their crimes.
3. Isolate and Apply pressure to states that support terrorism to force them to change their behavior.
4. Bolster the counterterrorism capabilities of those countries that work with the U.S. and require assistance.
1990s: Clinton and Counterterrorism

- Doubled Counterterrorism spending across 40 agencies; $11 billion in 01 budget.
- Increased focus on working with foreign intelligence agencies
- Working with other countries diplomatically
- 1995: Clinton signs Decision Directive (35): use any means necess. to disrupt Al Qaeda; terrorism moved up to 3rd tier in American FP;
  - CIA and FBI form Bin Laden room
- 1996: Begin systematically using extraordinary rendition of suspected terrorists; perhaps used 43 times; some executed
- 1996: first attempts to kidnap Bin Laden
- Through other countries Clinton asked the Taliban to turn over Bin Laden
- Employed economic sanctions against Afghanistan
Clinton and Counterterrorism

- Legal Responses to Terrorism Funding
- Decline in state sponsorship of terror groups
- Rise of groups like Al Qaeda which were raising money through organizations structured as charities
- New laws to deal with individuals and organizations rather than countries.
- Had been weak 1990 and 1994 laws
- Terror events in 1994 lead to the creation of two interagency working groups from State, Treasury, and Justice. One group focused on using existing laws, the other on drafting new laws to go after financial support
Clinton and Counterterrorism

- Group work led to Clinton issue 95 EO which froze assets of 12 groups operating in the US under the International Emergency Economic Act.
- Clinton ordered Treasury Dept. in 1995 to lead disruption of illicit financial transfers; Treas. delayed cracking down for fear that Muslim charitable organs. Would accuse them of discrimination; didn’t begin until week of 9/11/01.
- Clinton personally appealed to Saudi leaders to end funding or orgs.; traveled to Pakistan to convince them to end support of the Taliban.
- 1996 Congress passed as part of the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996. Banned any funds or other contributions to groups that support terror, regardless of what intent of resource contribution was.
Clinton and Counterterrorism

1. Authorized SoS to designate FTO (foreign terrorist organizations); sunset and remove in 2yrs if not relisted; revised to 4yrs with 2004 amendment.

2. Criminal offense to knowingly provide material support or resources to FTO; Justice says this has been very important

3. Also allowed SoS, in consultation with the AG, to designate FTO on the Terrorist Exclusion list (TEL) which bans visa for members of the group.

4. Revised by USA PATRIOT Act (2001) to allow for redesignation even if the group had not committed any acts in the past 2 yrs; also clarified in 2004 under the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention act to clarify training and include those who volunteered (American Taliban)

In 1997, Secretary of State Albright designated 30 groups under the law, including Hamas, Hezbollah, and the Kurdistan Workers’ Party.

Since 2001, the government says, it has prosecuted about 150 defendants for violating the material-support law, obtaining roughly 75 convictions.

Upheld by SC, 6-3 in Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project, No. 08-1498, and Humanitarian Law Project v. Holder, No. 09-89 on 6/21/2010
Clinton and Counterterrorism

- the *Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act* of 1996
- also established the Alien Terrorist removal Court (ATRC), a court composed of judges trained to evaluate classified info. Could deport alien terror suspects while protecting classified info.
- Allows suspect to see unclassified summary of info used in the case; but this can be waived;
- The court has not been used
President Clinton’s Actions

• 1998: E. Africa bombings, Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya (223 killed, thousands wounded)

• Advisors argue that law enforcement approach not enough; military action required
  » Clinton signs presidential finding authorizing agents to kill rather than capture Bin Laden;
  » Authorizes killing of several other Al Qaeda leaders
  » Approved shooting down of private aircraft if any of these people on it

• Cruise missile strikes in Afghanistan and Sudan: Negative reaction to retaliatory strikes:

• Backlash, Bin Laden hero in Muslim world
Where did AQ and Bin Laden Come From?
International Extremists

• Modern Arab Islamist Extremism

  » A progression from secular phases of Arab nationalism (1960s and 70s)

  » Creation of a Pan-Muslim Identity (70s & 80s): aided by USSR invasion of Afghan; Lebanon, Palestinian issue

  » Movement has transcended most ethnic and cultural differences.
International Extremists, cont.

- Religious Extremism and Terrorism
  - A. Special problems issues: perceptions, inciting hatred
    1. Fundamentalists of any stripe
    2. Terrorism, insurgency, Asymmetric Warfare
- Al Qaeda (The Base) and Osama bin Laden
  1. Overview and Background
  2. The Soviet war in Afghanistan: 1979-1989: CIA spent over $6 billion supporting Mujahideen: bin Laden may have helped training over 10,000 fighters
  3. The Iraq Invasion of Kuwait 1990: US troops in SA
    » Mujahideen begin sending troops to other conflicts
  4. America as the Enemy: 3 Fatwahs 1996
    » Radicalize existing Islamic groups
    » Destruction of U.S.
    » Support Muslim fighters
Out of Afghanistan

- **Chechnya** served as one of the first battlegrounds outside of Afghanistan for al Qaeda in the early 1990s. Al Qaeda sent thousands of foreign fighters to Chechnya to fight alongside the domestic Chechen resistance to the Russians during the First and Second Chechen Wars.

- Al Qaeda also funneled large amounts of money to the fight in Chechnya and used the theater as a training ground and well as propaganda and recruiting tool. The Chechen leadership became increasingly radicalized and the jihad expanded to the greater Caucasus. In the fall of 2007, Doku Umarov, the new leader of the Chechen jihadis, declared the Islamic Caucasus Emirate and impose sharia law.
Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden

- Umbrella organization: International Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders
- Al Qaeda Training Manual
  » Organization
  » Missions
  » Documents
  » Communications
  » Beating and Killing of Prisoners
  » Being in Prisons
- Goals: 1) Overthrow corrupt govt’s of Muslim states and replace with Islamic law, 2) attack West and westerners, 3) radicalize existing Islamic groups and create new groups, 4) support Muslim (jihad) fighters anywhere in world
Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden

- Operations: History of Attacks against American interests
  - 1993 WTC: several weak ties: 1st Islamic terror strike on American soil
  - 1995 series of bombings of American troop barracks in SA
  - 1998 East Africa bombings: 8 years to the day of troops
  - 1999 NY eve: foiled plans in US and elsewhere
  - 2000: U.S.S. Cole (Yemen port): 17 killed; no response
  - 2001: September 11: 19 individuals hijacked 4 planes; one plane into each of the WTC towers; one into Pentagon, and 1 brought down in field in PA: Excluding the 19 hijackers, 2,974 people died in the attacks. Another 24 are missing and presumed dead
How 9/11 Changed things
Counterterrorism: George W. Bush (43)

- **Campaign and Pre-9/11: No terrorism**
  - 2000: No Nation Building
  - Redesign Military under Rumsfeld: less focus on soldier, more on high tech.
  - A few embarrassments: China and spy plane

- **2001: 9/11 Attacks**
  - Presidency rotates around FP very much like Cold War presidents
George W. Bush

- FP becomes centerpiece of Bush Presidency; Global War on Terrorism
- Axis of Evil: Iran, Iraq, and North Korea
Responding to 9/11

1. **Dramatic policy change**: Greatest since Great Depression and WWII

2. Employing all tools

   a. Domestic and International Summary

   1. USA PATRIOT Act; FBI and other Law enforcement: thousands of agents reassigned to counterterrorism; CIA, NSA powers

   2. Creation of Dept. of Homeland Security and Office of the Director of National Intelligence

   3. Airline Security: no fly; TSA, hardened

   4. Infrastructure security: water, gov’t

   5. Immigration and VISAs: fewer loopholes

   6. State and Local Law Enfforcement: training, resources, joint task forces
Responding to 9/11, cont.

- Post 9/11 Military Intell. Units allowed to increase their activities and not rely on CIA for intell;
- **October 7, 2001: Operation Enduring Freedom: Afghanistan**
  - **Strategy:** Air power in conjunction with CIA supported Northern Alliance and Special Forces
- **2002: Bush Doctrine: Spread democracy, free trade, and preemptive war**
  - Afghanistan, Iraq, military training throughout the world; refusal to engage in talks with countries that do not do the things we want; withdraw from Kyoto agreement; An overall unilateral approach to foreign policy
- **March 2003: Iraq War: march to war begins 9/12/2001**
  - Threat and links to Al Qaeda
  - Success in Afghanistan
  - Once buildup begins, pressure for war is tremendous
• By the numbers
Responding to 9/11, cont.

• Military and intel agencies are actively involved in anti-terror activities in more than 60 countries

• President Obama’s inauguration did change the perception of the U.S. throughout the world

• In June 2009 he gave a speech in Cairo that suggested a new beginning with the Muslim world

• He promised to change policies, including withdrawing from Iraq, increasing efforts in Afghanistan, and closing the Guantanamo Bay detention center

• Also suggested some changes in other parts of counterterrorism policy and homeland security
Impact of President Obama, cont.

- **In reality: little has changed.** Some progress in Afghan following the surge in 2009; Iraq occupation is over; transparency.
- But some general policies and increase in covert activities; more focus on Pakistan, Africa, and Yemen. Greater focus on special operations and the use of drone strikes by CIA and U.S. Military; **May 2011 Killing of Bin Laden**
- Has not changed policy on Guantanamo Bay; is basically following practices in place since 2007.
- August 2011: “Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities,” PSD-10: “Preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest” and a core moral responsibility of the United States.” Interagency Atrocities Prevention Board formed; authorized “a small number of combat equipped U.S. forces to deploy to central Africa to provide assistance to regional forces that are working toward the removal of Joseph Kony Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) from the battlefield.”
- Signed the 2012 National Defense Authorization Act that would allow the military to indefinitely detain anyone it accuses of knowingly or unknowingly supporting terrorism.
The New Model: Obama’s Covert War

• Starts to look like the Cold War
  1. Large scale military interventions: Korea, Vietnam. At best limited success
  2. Increasing focus on better technology and weapons
  3. Lots of effort into helping friends and allies: first line of defense
  4. Conflict of ideology; war of attrition

• Examples
By the Numbers

- Data through 2011

- Radical transformation of the U.S. military during the 9/11 era. Drones, once an afterthought in tactical plans, have become a central component, flying millions of hours in combat. Special operations forces have added tens of thousands to their ranks. Bomb-resistant armored vehicles, absent from the American arsenal in 2001, are now a primary means of battlefield transportation — even as Afghanistan’s militants find new ways to render them irrelevant.
Obama’s Covert Ops

• Charting the data for US airstrikes in Pakistan, 2004 – 2012
  

• Charting the data for US air strikes in Yemen, 2002 - 2012
  

• Also using Drones and Special Operations Forces throughout Africa
Ideological Threat

- **GWOT or the GWOE is an ideological conflict** even though the foundation of beliefs on one side is based in religion. For some proponents of the GWOT beliefs are based in religion as well—this is a crusade (FBI training through 2011), a war against Islam.
  
  1. Al Qaeda is just one representation of the potential threat of Islamic extremism.

  2. The original organization is on the ropes, but it has franchised the ideology and the ideology is running strong in places like Somalia and Yemen.

  3. The ideology is also being exported to lone-wolf jihadist wanna-be’s in the West.
The Threat Continues

- **Yemen**: Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
- **Pakistan**: local insurgency, Taliban, AQ and other groups
- **Iraq**: AQI still quite active; almost weekly bombings
- **Iran**: Heavy supporter
- **Syria**: Supporter and now has its own insurgency
- **Somalia**:
- **Nigeria**: Boko Haram
- **Kenya**:
- **Sudan**:
- **Uganda**:
- **In the West**: Homegrown Jihadists; western nationals inspired (and perhaps trained) by groups like AQ.
Ideological Threat

- The current active groups and individuals are less likely to pose a significant threat to the U.S. homeland, but unsophisticated low-level attacks can still create problems.

- But as with the Cold War the actual threat might be less than the threat posed by those who would overstate the threat in order to gain political or policy advantage.

Communism/Radical Islam

- The mistake of characterizing as fundamentalism. Oversimplifies. Radical views such as those espoused by AQ, are just that—highly divergent views of Islam. They are not simply fundamentalist.
What’s Next?

• **Threat of extremism and terrorism is a very real domestic and foreign policy issue**
• Capture or Kill them all? Not likely. For every one captured or killed others take their place unless something else changes.
• Try to talk to them? Change policy? Ignore them?
• Need to face the fact that extremism and terrorism cannot be eliminated even though it can be reduced through counterterrorism efforts; but counterterrorism has its own costs.
• Counterterrorism often reinforces the claims of the terrorists — government X is unjust, oppressive, corrupt, etc.
• Infringements on civil rights and liberties or human rights more generally provides little advantage, and can increase support and recruitment for extremists.